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## II.—A SEMANTIC STUDY OF THE INDO-IRANIAN NASAL VERBS.<sup>1</sup>

### PART II.

#### I. The *-nā-* class verbs.<sup>2</sup>

K. Verbs meaning 'caedere, scindere', etc. (= p., B, above).

1) Skr. *dṛṇāti* 'splits': *n*-flexion in Gothic *af-taurnan* 'to break off, cease'.<sup>3</sup>

For their semantic interest note

*δέπει* 'flays'

Goth. *ga-taítran* 'to destroy'

*δέπτρον* 'caul, net z haut'

Germ. *zehren* 'to eat (and drink)'

*δέρμα* 'skin, hide'

2) *lunāti* / *lunōti* 'cuts':<sup>4</sup> *n*-flexion in Goth. *fra-lusnan* (intrans.) 'to be lost'. I divide *lu-snan*, *sn* belonging to s)NĒ(Y)- 'to cut'; but the division *-lus-nan* is attested for the Gothic popular feeling by *fra-lius-an*.

Base LĒ(Y)- / LŌ(W)- (see d. above and nos. 23, M., 26, 141, 166).

Lat. *lī-ra* 'ridge, furrow'

Skr. *lēkhā* 'tear'

*lī-lus* 'shore'<sup>5</sup>

*λη-νός* 'trough'

*lī-tera* 'scratch, letter'.

*lō-rum* 'lash'

*ληίς* 'booty'

*lū-ra* 'strap'

Skr. *lāvas* 'cutting'

*lēv-is* 'smooth'

*λάβρα* 'ravine, cut'

(?) *lō-mentum* 'powder'

Skr. *lavandm* 'salt'

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. P. XXV p. 369 foll.

<sup>2</sup> The classification of these verbs by meaning will not accord in all respects with the semantic grouping essayed under p., above (part I, p. 379), but this lack of symmetry will be remedied by cross references.

<sup>3</sup> Except in cases of special semantic interest only one flexional example will be cited from the Indo-Iranian group.

<sup>4</sup> I am citing 3<sup>d</sup> sg. presents even where that particular form is not attested, generally when the flexional type is attested by other forms, but sometimes merely on native learned and lexical authority. The actual forms in use may all be controlled by Keller's lists.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Skeat's Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, s. v.

Of semantic import :<sup>1</sup>

λύει 'looses'	O. N. <i>lýja</i> 'to knock, beat'
λοίει 'washes'	Goth. <i>fra-liusan</i> 'to lose'

Lat. *lavit* 'washes' (See M. below, and no. 23)

3) *kuṣṇāti* 'tears': no *n*-flexion. Originally *s)ku-ṣṇāti* (cf. no. 19), subsequently *kuṣ-ṇāti* (cf. *kuṣāti*), see on Goth. *-lusnan/-liusan* in no. 2.

Cognates (cf. no. 1):

Lat. <i>cutis</i> 'skin'	<i>scūtum</i> 'shield'
κύτος "	σκύτος 'hide'

4) *mṛdnāti* 'rubs, crushes': no *n*-flexion.

Cognates with R.

σμερδαλέος 'frightful'	Eng. <i>smart</i>
σμερδόνος "	Lat. <i>merda</i> 'dung', <sup>2</sup>

Cognates with L.

Skr. <i>mṛdās</i> 'soft'	ἀμαλδύνει 'crushes, softens'
ἀμαλός " (without -D-).	
μαλθακός " (with -DH-)	Skr. <i>mṛdhati</i> 'neglects, forgets' (cf. temnit)

5) *mṛṇāti* 'crushes': *n*-flexion in *μάρναται*; also cf. *mṛnāti* (with -NO-/-NE-, see q., above).

Cognates with R.

μαραίνει 'rubs out, quenches'	μαραίνεται 'dies'
Skr. <i>maradyati</i> 'destroys'	Skr. <i>mārate</i> "
Av. <i>mərəncaitē</i> "	Lat. <i>mortuus</i> ('tot-) geschlagen'
Lat. <i>marcet</i> 'droops, languishes'	<i>murcus</i> 'short'
Skr. <i>mṛṇālam</i> 'edible lotus' (so Uhlenbeck).	

Cognates with L.

Lat. <i>molat</i> 'grinds' <sup>3</sup>	Arm. <i>malēm</i> 'zerstosse, -malme'
<i>mulcet</i> 'strokes, soothes'	Skr. <i>mṛṣṭti</i> 'touches' <sup>4</sup>
<i>mulcat</i> 'beats'	μαλακός 'soft' <sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Note German *los-bindet* 'loose-binds' = unlooses; Eng. *breaks loose*.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. *ordure* 'dung', derived from Lat. *horridum* 'frightful' justifies *merda* 'dung': σμερδόνος 'frightful'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Germ. *stöszer* 'pestle', *stösst* 'grinds, pulverizes'; primitive sense 'tundit'.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Germ. *sie stossen an einander* 'they touch' and Eng. *strikes* (= touches) a piano key.

<sup>5</sup> Hesychius glosses φλᾶν 'to crush' by μαλάσσειν πηλαγῆς; μαλαχθεῖς = 'crushed'.

6) *vlīnāti* 'crushes, squeezes': NO-/NE-flexion in Lat. *vellit* 'plucks, pulls' (see no. 51.); *vlī-* is derived from the dissyllabic base WELĀY-<sup>1</sup>

7) *ξρηῇᾱτι* 'crushes': *n*-flexion in O. Ir. *ar-a-chrinim* 'difficiscor' (cf. *do-ro-chair* 'cecidit'); see no. 29.

Of semantic import, Lat. *caries* 'decay': Skr. *ḥirṇás* 'rotten'; on *κορέννυσι* see Q., below.

8) *bhrīṇāti* 'wounds, injures':<sup>2</sup> no *n*-forms; *bhrī* from a base BHERaY-. Cognates:

Av. <i>broiθra</i> 'axe'	<i>φάπει</i> 'splits'	Lat. <i>ferit</i> 'strikes'
O. Ir. <i>berraim</i> 'tondeo'	Lat. <i>forat</i> 'pierces'	O. N. <i>berja</i> 'to beat'
O. B. <i>briti</i> 'tondere'	O. B. <i>brati</i> 'pugnare'	

9) *jīnāti* 'overpowers': *n*-flexion in *βινεῖ* 'violat, stuprat', which is a -NĒ(Y)-suffix verb with thematic flexion (cf. Keller, l. c. p. 196, 1 c.) The base G<sup>W</sup>ĪNĒ(Y)- exhibits the variation *ī/i* seen in *vlīnāti* (no. 6), or else *ī* in *βινεῖ* develops as compensative lengthening from \*βτ-σνγνυει (cf. no. 2).

Cognates: Lith. *į-gyjiū* 'I acquire, gain'<sup>3</sup>

10) *kṣīṇāti/kṣinóti* 'destroys': NE/NO-flexion in *φθίνει*, (? for \*φθι-σνυει, cf. no. 2) 'wastes away' (for the sense, see nos. 5, 63); cf. also *κτιννυσι* 'destroys' (P.). Further see nos. 174, 175.

11) *kṛṇāti* (Dhātupāṭha) 'injures, kills', Av. *kṛṇaoiti* 'cuts', NE/NO-flexion in *cernit*, *κρίνει* (? for \*κρτ-σνυει, or like *vlīnāti*, no. 9) 'scheidet, sichtet, sondert; unterscheidet'.

Base S)KER-

*κείρει* shears<sup>4</sup>

O. N. *skera* 'caedere'

<sup>1</sup> In this paper *a* is the transcription for *a\** or *a\**.

<sup>2</sup> Whitney defines by 'consumes'.

<sup>3</sup> From a more primitive 'strike, hit' (cf. P. below)? But if Skr. *jyá* 'violence' and *jyá* 'bow-string' are cognate, *į-gyjiū* may have meant something like '*ich packe*' (= I tie up and carry off for myself). Even so, the sinew-thread of the primitive bow was got by cutting, not by weaving, and thus the base G<sup>W</sup>YĒ- may have had a primitive sense 'to cut' (see nos. 39, 63).

<sup>4</sup> It is customary to derive *κείρει* from KĒRYETI and *κουρεύς* 'cutter, barber' from κορF- or κορσ-. It is not impossible but the base was K<sup>W</sup>Ē(Y)-R- / K<sup>W</sup>Ō(W)-R-, an *r*-extension of a base to be subsequently discussed (no. 119). Sabine *curis* 'hasta' would derive from KŌ(W)-R-, *quiris* (?) from K<sup>W</sup>Ē(Y)-R- cf. *κῆρει* 'strikes, hits', *κῶρυκος* 'leathern bag' (cf. Skr. *dṛtīs*, same meaning: *δέρει* 'splits, flays'). On the guttural variation in this root, see below in this number. The type of base represented by KĒ(Y)-R- gives rise to participles of the type KĪR-NŌS, cf., e. g., Skr. *ḥirṇás* 'rotten': Lat. *caries* 'rot' (no. 7). The base S)KĒY-R- is attested by *κίρννυμι* 'I mix', no. 29., (cf. Skr. *kīrdti* 'scatters', with K), as the base SKĒY-D- is attested by *σκίδνυμι* 'I scatter' (cf. no. 119).

Of semantic interest:

Du. <i>schorten</i> 'to lack' (= to fall short)	O. Ir. <i>cruth</i> 'forma'
Base s)KEL- Lith. <i>skeliù</i> 'scindo'	O. B. <i>kolja</i> 'caedo'
Lat. <i>culler</i> 'knife'	<i>celer</i> 'swift' (see R.)

Of semantic interest:

O. Ir. <i>scailim</i> 'σκεδάννυμι'	Skr. <i>kirdti</i> 'scatters, pours'
Skr. <i>kaṭṭ</i> 'part'	<i>kālis</i> 'division, quarrel'— 'ace' (dice)
<i>κηλῖς</i> 'spot'	Lat. <i>cālidus</i> (ā from ē?) 'spotted'
Skr. <i>kalañkas</i> "	<i>cāligo</i> 'mist'
" <i>kāluṣas</i> 'dirty' (cf. no. 7)	O. B. <i>kalū</i> 'dung' (cf. Kluge, s. v. <i>scheissen</i> )

Base SKER-P-

Skr. <i>kerpāṇas</i> 'sword'	κρόπιον 'sickle'	Lith. <i>kerpū</i> 'tondeo'
Lat. <i>carpi</i> 'plucks'	καρμός 'crop' <sup>2</sup>	

Of semantic interest:

Lat. <i>corpus</i> 'body'	Skr. <i>kṛp-</i> 'forma' <sup>3</sup>
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Base s)KEL-P-

Skr. <i>kālpate</i> 'arranges'	Lat. <i>scalpit</i> 'scratches'
Lat. <i>sculpat</i> 'graves'	<i>culpa</i> 'fault, crack, ge brechen' <sup>4</sup>

We can hardly escape the question whether Skr. *kṛnōti* 'makes' is a cognate, with specialized sense, of *kṛnāti*; cf. Lith. *kuriù* 'I build'.<sup>5</sup> We may compare Eng. *shapes*, Germ. *schafft*: Lith. *skabėti* 'cuts', Lat. *scabii* 'scrapes' (so Skeat); while Lat. *figit* 'shapes, fashions, moulds' is an ultimate doublet, I take it, of *figit* 'pierces, sticks, fastens'.<sup>6</sup> On Lat. *parat* 'procures, produces, makes' (: *peipet* 'cuts') see Am. Jr. Phil., 25, 182.

<sup>1</sup> Not from \**culptro-* as I suggested in Am. Jr. Phil. 24, 73, nor from *kertro-* (Skutsch, B. B. 22, 126).

<sup>2</sup> So Eng. *crop* (noun) from *to crop*, see Skeat, l. c., s. v.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *forma* 'shape': *forat* 'pierces' (?).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Skr. *chidra-* 'hole, defect': *√chid-* 'scindere', Eng. *blemish*: O. Fr. *blesmir* 'wound' (see Skeat, l. c.). See Am. Jr. Phil. l. c. p. 73.

<sup>5</sup> Uhlenbeck (Etym. Woert. d. ai. Sprache), in view of Cymric *peri* 'machen', writes a labialized velar for *kṛnōti*; Brugmann (Gr. I<sup>2</sup> § 631, 641) writes for it and for *kṛnāti* a pure velar. Cf. also *kṛnāti* (no. 7). See v. below.

<sup>6</sup> The roots are DHEYGĤ- 'to mould' and DHEVG<sup>w</sup> 'to stick' (cf. Lith. *dėgti* 'to smart', *dygùs* 'pricking'). On the variation of *ġh* and *g<sup>w</sup>* see j. above and cf. *θιγγάνει* 'touches' (see no. 5 for a parallel semantic relation); also see v. below. The Latin doublet *figit/ſiuit*, as well as Av. *daerayēiti* 'heaps up':

12) *mināti* / *minōti* 'damages, lessens; gets lost': *nu*-flexion well attested, Gr. *μινύθει*, Lat. *minuit* 'lessens'. Original sense 'caedit'. Cognates:

Lat. <i>dim-minuit</i> 'splits open'	<i>minat</i> 'agit' (Festus) <sup>1</sup>
<i>minatur</i> 'threatens'	<i>minor</i> 'smaller' <sup>2</sup>
O. N. <i>mei-ða</i> 'nocere'	Skr. <i>mē-th-ati</i> 'offendit'

Of semantic interest:

Lat. <i>mutat</i> 'swaps' <sup>3</sup> (from * <i>moitat</i> )	Av. <i>mae-θ-</i> 'to cheat' <sup>4</sup>
Skr. <i>māy-ā</i> 'decoy' <sup>5</sup>	

The relation of meaning between *mināti* ('breaks,) injures' and *minōti* 'walls, builds' (no. 91) does not differ from the relation of *krnāti* / *krnōti*, discussed in the last number (see especially the last fn.). Note

Lettic <i>mē-t-s</i> 'stake'	O. N. <i>meiðr</i> 'stake'
Skr. <i>me-th-īs</i> / <i>me-dh-īs</i> 'stake, tree, pillar'	Lat. <i>moē-nia</i> / <i>mū-ri</i> 'walls' (see no. 29)

Skr. *dḡhādhī* 'smears' (cf. Uhlenbeck, s. v. *dēhas*), attest the variation *ḡh* / *ḡw(h)* and so perhaps does *τίφος* 'teich' (cf. Kluge, s. v.): *τειχος* 'wall, dike' (cf. *πηλός* 'mud', Lat. *pālus* 'swamp': *pālus* 'stake'). Whether the original meaning of the group was 'to stick clay together' or 'to stick timbers together with pegs' is unessential. It is a question for the historian to determine whether the first *τειχος* was a 'stockade' or a 'dike'. It may very well have been both at once, and one "cuts a ditch" (doublet of dike = 'trench and embankment') as one cuts stakes for a stockade. Whether the mason or the joiner preceded in time, the terms of the one craft were liable to adoption by the other: cf. Eng. *wall*—made by the mason—from Lat. *vallum* 'stockade' (: *vallus* 'stake')—made by the joiner (see also no. 52). On the cognate base DHĒ(Y)- see no. 54.

<sup>1</sup> The sense is rather 'verberat', cf. Apuleius, the archaizer, Met. III. 27 *asinum . . . minantes baculis exigunt*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Skr. *kṣudrās* 'small': *kṣodati* 'beats'

<sup>3</sup> The colloquial verb *swaps* originally meant 'cuts (wheat) by chopping instead of reaping, strikes, beats' (so The Standard Dictionary and Skeat, l. c.). An essential part of the bargain seems to have been some form of blow,—*schlag*, *gegenschlag*, *durchschlag* (see Meringer, l. c. pp. 170-171),—cf. our 'to strike a trade' and *schlag* = 'festgesetzter Preis'.

<sup>4</sup> For the sense of 'cheats' cf. *κάπηλος* (1) 'trader', (2) 'cheat, rogue'; Lat. *ferit*, *per-cutit*, Eng. *beats* and *strikes* all come to mean 'cheats' in one sphere or another.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *δόλος* 'trick': *√DEL* 'to split'; perhaps, *frau-d-* 'dolus': *frus-tum* (from \**frud-tom*) 'bit' (= 'gespaltenes'); Germ. *schlag* ('bird-) trap': *schlägt* 'caedit'; *scheide* 'snare'.

The common base of all these words was  $\check{M}\check{E}(Y)$ - 'to cut, stick, thrust'.<sup>1</sup> Further cognates:

Lat. *me-t-it* 'reaps'<sup>2</sup> *mē-ti-tur* 'measures'<sup>3</sup>  
*μαῖα* 'midwife' (= die entbin derin) O. B. *mi-nē-ti* 'putare' (see no. 25)<sup>4</sup>

Base  $\check{S}\check{M}\check{E}(Y)$ -,  $\check{S}\check{M}\check{E}(Y)$ -K-

*σμή-λη* 'chisel' *σμύνη* 'hoe'  
*σμικ-ρός* 'small' (cf. *minor* above) *σμή-λαξ* 'yew' (cf. Lat. *taxus*<sup>5</sup> no. 85)  
 (?) *Σμί-ν-θεύς* 'smiter' (?) *σμί-ν-θος* 'mouse' (if = 'biter', cf. no. 38)  
 Lat. *mū-c-ro* (?) :  $\check{S}\check{M}\check{O}(Y)$ -K- or  $\check{S}\check{M}\check{O}(w)$ -K- 'point'  
*ē-minet* 'sticks out' *prō-minet* 'sticks forward'<sup>6</sup>  
*μέ-τ-αλλον* 'fodina'<sup>7</sup> *manet* 'remains'<sup>8</sup>

13) *klīḡ-nāti* 'tortures': no *n*-forms. Uhlenbeck suggests that *sam* +  $\sqrt{klīḡ}$  'to crush, squeeze' adumbrates the primitive meaning and hesitatingly compares Czech *klestiti* 'to hew, cut'. Add Lat. *clingit* 'cludit' (if = *zuschlägt*) and the gloss *clinsit* (? = *clinxit*) 'decurtavit'.

L. (= A). To bind, fasten, splice, etc.

It was noted in m. above how contrasting meanings had developed in *stick* > *stitch*, Germ. *stechen* > *stecken*.<sup>9</sup> A similar contrasting pair is found in *split* > *splice*, and like contrasts have developed in many other words describing mechanical processes, e. g.:

Lat. *stringit* 'strips' > 'binds' (cf. *strix* 'groove, striga' 'swath'), *ligat* 'binds' > *ligo* 'grub-axe', Skr. *kr̥nāti* 'cuts' > *kr̥nātti* 'spins',<sup>10</sup> 'twists', *āpis* 'auger' > *āpāpiskei*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Skr. *mīmāti mīmīte* (with *mī-* from *māy*). The roots in  $\check{E}(Y)$ - may have been the source of the reduplication type in *i*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *swaps*, above.

<sup>3</sup> (1) 'measures, estimates, judges'; (2) 'steps, paces, traverses'. The sense 'measures' is generalized, perhaps from 'distributes' (e. g. *frumentum militibus metitur*), but cf. Eng. *strike* = 'a leveller for measuring corn', Germ. *ge- treide einschlagen* = 'frumentum metiri'.

<sup>4</sup> With *-nē-* from  $\check{N}\check{E}(Y)$ -

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Schrader, l. c. s. v. *Eibe*.

<sup>6</sup> A semantic parallel in O. E. *scorian* 'to project, jut out', which belongs with *SKER-* 'to cut, stick' (no. 11). The *nē* of *-minēre* corresponds with the *nē* of Lith. *grabinėti* (see q. above).

<sup>7</sup> For the suffix cf. *κρύσ-τ-αλλος* 'ice'.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Goth. *beidan* (no. 14), Germ. *bleibt* (no. 167).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the Slavic bases 1 *tūk-* 'weben' > 2 *tūk-* 'einstecken, stechen'.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *κροτεῖ* 'smites': *κε-κροτημένος* 'close woven' (Lid. and Scott, s. v. II. 5), from the process of "striking the warp home".

'joins, fastens,' Eng. *botch* = Du. *butsen* 'strike' > < patch up', Ital. *piccare* 'to pierce' > < *ap-picare* 'to hang up, fasten together', Lat. *mordet* 'bites' > < grips' (Seneca), Eng. *swaddles* 'beats (?)' > < wraps', πάσσαλος 'peg' > < Skr. *pāśas* 'rope', Lat. *pangit* 'figit, pegs' > < παγίς, πάγη 'noose, trap' (see no. 168), Little Russ. *stebnuty* 'caedere' > < nere', δαίεται 'shares' > < δίδησι binds'.<sup>1</sup> With prepositions, Skr. *sañ-hanti* 'joins, unites' > < breaks', Germ. *anstösst* 'makes touch, unite' > < stösst 'strikes, thrusts'.

Other locutions generally illustrative of the notion 'to split' > < splice' are German "bretter zusammenstossen", "haare in einen knoten schlagen", "das tuch über dem kopf schlagen", "papier um ein paket schlagen", "zu Faden schlagen" = 1) 'ordiri', 2) 'to baste', 3) 'to twist (rope)'; Eng. *nails* 'to fasten with nails'; *tacks*, 1) 'to fasten with tacks', 2) 'to baste, sew' (cf., with generalized sense of 'to fasten', at-tach, de-tach); "to batten (down)" = 'to fasten (down) with battens' (batons),

<sup>1</sup> It is customary, because of δᾱμος 'schar, district, folk', to write the base of δαίεται as DĀ(Y), but I write it as DĒ(Y) because of δεῖ-π-νον 'feast' (: δαίνναι 'feasts', Skr. *dā-p-ayati* 'shares', cf. Prellwitz, Woert. s. v. δαπάνη), regarding ā in δᾱμος as secondarily lengthened â. The base of δίδησι 'binds', generally written DĒ, ought also to be written DĒ(Y), cf. Skr. *dī-sva* (impv.) ptc. *dī-nas*, defined by Uhlenbeck 'nieder geschlagen', ('vincitus), *chétif* (= Lat. *captivom*), *dy-dti* 'cuts' (like *chy-dti* 'cuts', from SKHĒ(Y)-, so Prellwitz, s. v. σχάζω); Homeric δήρουν 'caedebant', though obscure in its morphology, also belongs here, probably; δινεῖ 'whirls, (twists), spins round': Aeolic διννα (? from \*δι-σνα) 'vortex' correspond semantically with Lat. *vertit* 'turns': *verticillus* 'spindle', that is, if the verb be defined by 'spins'. Availing ourselves of Lat. *omentum* (1) 'caul' (2) 'fat', we may derive δημός 'fat' from DĒ(Y)- 'to cut', cf. δέπτρον 'caul': δέπει ('cuts,) flays'. If Lat. *con-dire* meant originally 'to tie together (bunches of herbs)', we see from Germ. *würzen* how it may have developed the sense 'to preserve, spice, pickle', cf. Gr. ἀρτρεύει 'seasons', a specialized derivative of ἀπαρίσκει 'joins'. Beside the base DĒ(Y)- 'to cut, divide, share' stood DŌ(W)- (cf. O. Lat. *du-it*, Gr. δοῦ-έναι, Skr. *dāv-dne*) 'to give, bescheren', a generalization of meaning as in *schenkt* 'gives': *schenkt* 'pours in'. The allocation of the generalized meaning 'to give' to the base DŌ(W)- (not DŌ-, cf. Meillet, *Introd. Étud. Compar. Lang. Ind.-Eur.* p. 75) is an interesting semantic phenomenon. To DŌ(W)- 'to bind' we may refer δοῦλος, δῶλος 'bond man', δόναξ/δοῦναξ/δῶναξ 'reed, arrow', *in-du-tiae* 'foedus' (see no. 14); while Goth. *twēvi* 'schar von fünfzig mann' may be derived from DĒ(W)- 'to cut' > < bind'. From DĒ(Y)-/DŌ(W)- 'to cut' we may derive Goth. *tau-jan* 'to make' (see no. 11 on *krynōti*), with a more original sense in O. Eng. *tdwian* 'to tan, δέφειν' (see no. 87).



a locution comparable with Lat. *claudit* 'closes' (: *clāva* 'club', *clāvis* 'key', *clāvus* 'peg').

14) Skr. *badhnāti* 'binds': *n*-flexion in Goth. *and-bundnan* 'to be loosed'.

It is customary to write the base as BHENDH- with permanent *n*,<sup>1</sup> but cf. O. Ir. *co-beden con-bodlas*,<sup>2</sup> *buden*, 'army', O. Brit. *bodin* 'manus', plur. *bodinion* 'phalanges'. Add O. Ir. *bodar* (:Skr. *badhirās*) 'deaf', supposing the original sense to have been 'deaf-and-dumb' as in *ἐνέος* (if = "tongue-tied", see above A. a.), cf. Goth. *baups*, *κωφός* 'deaf, dumb';<sup>3</sup> (?) Lat. *surdus* 'deaf': *serit* binds, *sera* 'fastener, bar' (cf. *absurdus* glossed by *ἀν-ἀρμωστος* 'dis-cordant'). In view, however, of the *b*- of Skr. *badvam* 'troop, army', and the uncertainty of the definition of *badhirās* as ['dumb], deaf', the argument for permanent *n* is the stronger. But if we study our root in the sense 'to split > < splice' the argument against the permanence of *n* is conclusive:

Lith. *bedą*<sup>4</sup> 'I dig'

Lat. *fodit* 'digs'

Lith. *badý-ti* 'fodicare'

O. B. *bodą* 'fodico'

Cymric *bedd* 'fossa'<sup>5</sup>

Other words of cognate meaning attest a base BHĒ(Y)DH- 'to split > < splice', viz.:

Lat. *fodit* (pf.)

Skr. *bādhate* 'constrains' (: Ital. *costringere* 'draw tight with cords')

*fibula* 'buckle'

O. B. *bēditi* } 'costringere'  
Goth. *baidjan* }

(?) *fib-ra* 'division, entrails'

<sup>1</sup> The syllable *-bund-* of *and-bund-nan* is supposed to be final proof of *ṇ* in *badhnāti*, but it is only final proof of *ṇ* in *and-bund-nan*, and even here *ṇ* is not necessarily primary, but may have been introduced from the pret., *-bundum*. That we should expect a weak syllable before accented *nā* is true, but the intrusion of the *ē* grade on the zero grade, attested by a participle form like *πεπτός*, is also attested for the nasal verbs of the Indo-Iranian group (cf. Keller, l. c. § 16), and we have no means of demonstrating that in the prothnic stage the same intrusion did not take place.

<sup>2</sup> Verifiable by me only in the lexica of Prellwitz, s. v. *πείσμα* and Fick's Woerterbuch, I<sup>4</sup>, p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> *κωφός* 'maimed': *σκάφος* 'pit', Lith. *skabėti* 'to cut'.

<sup>4</sup> Pace Brugmann Gr. I<sup>2</sup> § 166.

<sup>5</sup> Stokes in Fick's Woert.<sup>4</sup> II p. 166.



It is hard to decide whether Lat. *foedus* 'truce' comes from the sense 'to join' or the sense 'to strike' (see no. 12 above, and cf. *foedus ferire* 'to strike a truce'). So *παγείς* in *ὄρκος παγείς* 'a sure and steadfast oath' may be derived either from the primitive sense of 'fasten' or '(fest-)stecken' (cf. Menge's Woert. s. v. *πήγνυμι*<sup>1</sup>). Whether the explanation of *ferire* in the locution *foedus ferire* is as simple as the German word *schlag* suggests (see no. 12 fn. 3) is uncertain to my mind. Some form of ascertaining genuineness by tapping (striking), as in the Greek locution *κέραμον κρούειν*, may have underlain the contract making, or some breaking of a tessera hospitalis may have been the chief symbolic act of a treaty-making, cf. Gr. *ὄρκια πιστὰ ταμεῖν* which lends itself to the interpretation 'symbola <pactionis> fissi-facere' as well as to 'foederis causa <hostiam> caedere', though the cutting up of the animal sacrificed for distribution among the treaty makers was certainly a part of the ceremonial (cf. Aristophanes, *Lysis*. 192).<sup>2</sup>

Lat. *fidus* we may interpret by (1) *παγείς*, (?) *ve-rus* ('true, reliable': wĒY- 'to plait') or (2) by ('split, open, frank, loyal', cf. Il. 15. 26 *πεπιθοῦσα θυέλλας* 'procellas findendo resolvens'.<sup>3</sup> Illustrating the latter definition, at least roughly, stand the glosses *certus sum*: 'πέπεισμαι, persuasus sum', *certus* 'fidelis', *fidus*: 'amicus fidelis, certus', — *certus*: SKER- 'to cut' (no. 11) = *fidus*: BHĒY-D(H)- 'to split'. Further, the relation of BHĒY-D(H)- to BHENDH- 'to bind, bend' (see T., β.,) enables us to define *πείθει* by 'flect it, κάμπτεϊ' (cf. the gloss *flectit* 'persuadet'). Or did *fidus πιστός* mean 'tried, tested by splitting', cf. *fidiculae* 'genus tormentorum, sunt ungulae (l. *unculae*?) quibus torquentur <rei> in eculo (= rack) adpensi'.

Further cognates of semantic interest are:

φιδίτιον 'δαίς'      πιδάκνη/φιδάκνη 'fidelia'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *pignus* 'pledge, earnest of a bargain', which seems an ultimate cognate; see the root discussed in no. 168.

<sup>2</sup> Lat. *foedus* 'ugly' meant either (1) 'scarred, cut' or implied (2) 'sourness' of face, (cf. Eng. *bitter*: √BHĒ(Y)-D 'to split, bite'). From *foedat* 'mutilates' I judge the former to be the more probable interpretation.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Skr. *dāna-bhinnas* 'bestochen, bribed' with *μοσθῶπειθε*.

<sup>4</sup> We may suppose the earthen pot to have followed the plaited water-basket as it demonstrably did in North American civilization (cf. Mason's *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*, pg. 97). Eng. *cask* derives ultimately from *quassare* 'to break, burst' (see Skeat, l. c.), cf. *dōlium* 'cask': √DEL (in no. 1). Unless indeed the original cast was a 'hollowed log', a 'trough' (*ληνός*, no. 2).

An additional base belonging in this group is BHENEDH- which perhaps appears with the sense 'to split' in Lat. *fenestra* 'cut, hole, window' (cf. on the semantic question Meringer, l. c., p. 126), from BHENEDH-TRĀ. I derive BHENEDH from BHĒ(Y)- + NĒDH-, as in c. above, though NĒDH- is attested only in the sense 'to splice' (see A. γ. above).<sup>1</sup> The grade BHENDH- is, barring *fenestra*, the grade in evidence. The relation of BHENDH- to BHĒ(Y)DH- has parallels in Goth. *fra-slinda* (base SLINDH- or SLENDH-): O. B. *slēdū* (base SLĒYDH-), Lith. *sprindis* (base SPRIND-): O. Ir. *srēdim* (base SPRĒ(Y)D-), cf. Reichelt KZ. 39 p. 75-6.

Only bare traces exist of the mutation BHŌ(W)-DH-, at least with transparent associations of meaning, and Goth. *baups* 'dumb, deaf': Skr. *badhīrās* 'deaf' (see above in this no.) has had its *au* explained by analogy with *daufs* 'deaf'. Skr. *budhnā-* 'bottom' may be a straggler, primarily meaning 'pavimentum, battuto',<sup>2</sup> cf. *πυθμῖν* 'root, stump (?)'. The base of *πυθάνομαι* and its kin is BHĒ(W)DH- and it may be cognate with BHĒ(Y)DH-, if the original sense was 'to learn by inquiry, by probing' (see T. ζ., below).

The base BHĒ(W)-, if 'to be, become' was the original meaning, could hardly be a cognate. But, though this sense is indubitably proethnic, it is not necessarily primary. I think that 'to become, be' is developed from 'to grow' (see k. above and no. 41, and note the definition "wachsen, werden, sein", given by Miklosich, Etym. Woert. d. Slav. Sprachen, s. v. *by-*), which in its turn may be secondary, cf. Germ. *bauen*, 'to build, construct', etc., a definition already discussed under no. 11; see also *struit* in no. 26.

We might expect differentiation of meaning to attach itself to differentiation of phonetic form: this is the way of doublets, witness our English yard/garden. But this differentiation would not be always thorough. Thus we have *findere sarculo* (Horace,

<sup>1</sup> Hirt also (Ablaut, 644) writes a base BHENEDH- 'to splice', deriving NEDH- from (BH)NEDH-. The explanation by addition, by blending of independent words of like meaning, seems to me more in accord with the observed and observable linguistic processes in operation about us.

<sup>2</sup> A nearly similar metaphor in *κρηπίδα βάλλεσθαι*, Lat. *fundamenta iacere* 'to throw, strike foundations'; *κρηπίς* belongs with Lat. *crepat* ('breaks), cracks, rattles', the sense of 'shoe' (cf. Lat. *crepida* 'solea') having developed from the cobbler's manufacture by beating.

Carm. 1. 11) where *fodere* would seem more idiomatic. So in *defendit, offendit, -fend-* has rather the meaning of Skr. *bādhate* (cf. Lanman's Sanskrit Reader, Vocab. s. v.),<sup>1</sup> while in *offendix, offendimentum* 'cap, band' *-fend-* belongs to *badhnāti*. Nor can we decide whether Alban. *bint* 'I persuade' is a closer cognate to *πειθω* than to *badhnāti* (see above), or whether Goth. *bidjan* belongs to *πειθω* rather than to Skr. *bādhate* (see Uhlenbeck, got. Woert. s. v.).

15) *sināti/sinōti* 'to bind': *n*-flexion in Lat. *sinit* 'lets, allows' (see below). The original meaning was 'to stick > <stitch.' Base *sĒ(y)-/sŌ(w)-*

Skr. *śhyakas* 'weapon'

Lat. *si-ca* 'dagger'

Skr. *śi-ta* 'furrow'

*śi-ram* 'plough'

Lat. *si-num* 'bowl' (=cavatum)

O. B. *sēya* 'suo'

*sē-ti* 'net'

Lith. *sē-tas* 'rope, sieve'

Lat. *sae-ta* 'bristle, mane'

*lves* 's i n e w s' (see m.)

Lat. { *salix* } 'willow for  
      { *siler* } 'plaiting'

*solum* 'p a v i m e n t u m, b a t t u t o', cf.

Skr. *budhnd-*, no. 14

<sup>4</sup> *sō-lus* 'alone' (=cut off)

<sup>5</sup> *so-spes* } 'cut loose' (=freed,  
*si-spes* } delivered, saved)

*si-nus* 'cut, sink, fold'

*si-nuat* 'folds, bends'

<sup>6</sup> *serit* (pf. *sēv-i*) 'sows'

<sup>7</sup> *si-nit* 'leaves, allows'

<sup>7</sup> *de-sivare* 'desinere'

Skr. *sū-ct* 'needle'

Lat. *sū-bula* 'awl'

*śa* 'seam' (96)

Lat. *suit* 'sews'

O. E. *sđw-an*, O. Sax. *sāian* 'to sew'

*ὀδός* } 'threshold'

*ὀδός* } (cf. *fenestra*, no. 14)

*ὀδός* } 'road'

*ὀδός* } (see R. below).

Lat. <sup>1</sup> *sē-mi* 'half'

(?) *satis* 'a bursting, teeming'

<sup>2</sup> *similis* 'like'

*simila* 'flour'

*silex* 'cos, flint'.

*solea* 'slipper' (?) 'tie' or *crepida* no. 14)

<sup>3</sup> *soluit* 'cuts loose'

*solatur* 'relaxes, releases'

<sup>6</sup> *ῥσι* 'throws'

<sup>7</sup> *sērus* 'late'

<sup>8</sup> Skr. *śv-yati* 'sews'

#### Notes:

(1) *sēmi-* 'half', cf. Goth. '*halbs*' (which Uhlenbeck derives from a root meaning 'to cut': Lat. *scalpit*), Skr. *ārdha-* 'half': Lith. *ardýti* 'to separate', Lat. *arbiter* 'halver' (see Rev. de Ling., 1898, no. 4, p. 375, and cf. no. 96). The base *sĒ-M-* 'to cut' in *ὀμαλός* 'cut smooth, level' (cf. *lēvis*, no. 2); cf. also *similis*; *SMĒ(y)-*,<sup>2</sup> no. 12, is cognate.

<sup>1</sup> For the meaning, cf. Lith. *ginti* 'defendo, arceo' (=propulso): O. B. *sinja* 'caedo, meto,' Skr. *√han-* 'to strike'. It is not impossible, to be sure, but *-fend-* belongs in this group.

<sup>2</sup> Is *SMĒy-* a compound root, *sĒ-* + *MĒ(y)-*, or *sĒM-* + *Ēy-* (see nos. 45, 46, and cf. f., fn.)?

(2) *similis* 'like,' cf. Skr. *viddhás* 'split, ähnlich'; note also *par* (no. 35) which, with *pars* and *portio*, belongs with *πείρει* 'pungit, caedit'.

(3) *soluit*,—blended of *so-* + *luit* (no. 2), each member meaning 'to cut loose'.<sup>1</sup>

(4) *sōlus*, cf. *cae-lebs* 'solitary': *caedit* 'cuts', and note the Festus glosses of *solox*, viz.: a) 'lana crassa' (cf. *sae-ta*), b) 'pecus quod passim pascitur non tectum'.

(5) With *sō-spēs* cf. *cae-spēs* 'turf, sod' (: *caed-it*), defined by Festus, terra in modum lateris caesa . . sive frutex recisus et truncus. Is the suffix *-spet-* cognate with *σπᾶ* 'draws off, strips'?—cf. *σπά-διξ* 'twig' with *cae-spēs* 'frutex recisus'.

(6) The primitive sower was not like Millet's Sower, a broadcaster of grain, but rather a 'digger' of holes; he was more like the Teita women (cf. Mason, l. c. pg. 149) "who till the soil with implements of the rudest and simplest form . . . A small cavity is made with the finger, into which a few seeds are dropped, covered over loosely, and Nature is left to do the rest". Tree-planting, as described by Cato, R. R. 133 (cf. also Caecilius ap. Cic., Tusc. I. 31), who uses the verb *serit*, was not a process of sowing but of planting, the setting out of cuttings. The planting of hedges and vegetables we may safely put at an early period (cf. Schrader, l. c. p. 263). Apropos of Skr. *śī-ram* 'plough' and *śītā* 'furrow' it may be noted that *ἄρῶ* 'I plough' develops the sense of 'sow'. Or the notion of 'scatter' may have been immediately developed from that of 'cut' (cf. O. Ir. *scailim* 'I scatter':  $\sqrt{\text{SKEL}}$  in no. 11, and see N.).

(7) *sinit*. Eng. *lets*, Germ. *lässt* are derived from a base meaning 'to relax, release', and their Greek cognate *ληδεῖν* is glossed by *κοπιᾶν* 'to tire' (: *κόπτει* 'cuts, beats, tires'—Liddell and Scott, s. v. I. 12—so in colloquial English *beats* = 'tires'). Note the curious semantic proportion, Eng. *lets*: *late* :: Lat. *sinit*: *sē-rus* (: Skr. *sāy-ām* 'evening', cf. *-λυτος* in *βου-λυτός*).

(8) *śtv-yati* 'sews: the base *sṛIW-* is of the type designated above as triphthongal (see f.), but the division *sṛ-vyati* is possible, explaining the formation as a blend of *sṛ* + *\*vyati*. Analogous with *\*vyati*: *wĒ(Y)-* are *syāti*: *sĒ(Y)-* 'to bind', *dyāti* 'cuts > < binds': *dĒ(Y)-*, *chyāti*: *s)KHĒ(Y)-* 'to cut', *ḡyāti* 'sharpens': *ḡō(Y)-*. Though *\*vyāti* is not extant in Sanskrit, I infer its

<sup>1</sup> So *κολούει* 'clips, docks' is a blend of *κο(I)-* (no. 11) + *LŌW-* (no. 2).

existence from *vyáyati*, which I regard as a blend of *váyati* and \**vyáti*; but the blend was probably proethnic as Latin *vière* 'to wind, plait' suggests.

Beside *sĕ(y)*- 'to stick > < to stitch' stands *sĕ(y)-k-* 'to cut' (Lat. *sīca* 'dagger': *secat* 'cuts'), and *sĕ(y)-d* 'to bide (see no. 14), dwell, sit' (see Brugmann, Gr. I<sup>2</sup> § 549 c.), to which *sīdus* 'mondhaus', *sīdit* 'tarries, settles' belong.

16) *grathnāti* 'ties': *n*-form in no. 137 (q. v.).

17) *ubhnāti* 'confines' (= holds together, covers); *n*-flexion in *ὑφαίνει* 'weaves'. Base was *wĕ(y)-bh-* (see no. 135).

18) *vr̥nātē* / *vr̥nōti* / *ūr̥nōti* 'covers, encloses': *n*-forms of divergent meaning in no. 52. For the development of meaning see no. 19.

19) *skunāti* / *skunōti* 'covers'; no *n*-flexion. The cognates *cutis* 'skin', *scūtum* 'shield' warrant the definition of *skunāti* by 'skin-wraps', cf. *κεύ-θει* 'skin-dons'; the use of skins for clothing and for disguise sufficiently justifies these definitions, cf. Lat. *cēlat* 'hides': Lith. *kāilis* 'skin' (base s) *kĕ(y)-l-*. The base s) *kō(w)-* is attested by Skr. *skāūti* 'tears', *ā-skunoti* (AV.) 'makes incisions', *kū-lam* 'scaur, shore', *kū-pas* 'pit, fossa'; cf., with *k̥*, *ḡū-las* 'spit, stake'. The primary sense was 'to stick, cut' (cf. Germ. *stecken* 'to hide') and *cutis* meant *δέσμα*; in *κῶας* 'fleece' *κῶαι* 'caves', the long vowel is attested, as well as in *cavus* 'hollow' (from *kəwós*, cf. Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve, p. 202,<sup>1</sup> and see Mikkola, IF. 16, 100). A further discussion of the base s) *k(H)ĕ(y)-* / *sk(H)ō(w)-* in no. 119.

20) *stabhnāti* / *stabhnōti* 'props': *n*-flexion in Little Russ. *stebnuty* 'lashes, sews'. The etymological definition of *stabhnāti* is 'shores up' (*shore* 'prop': *shears* 'cuts'), a development exhibited afresh in Ital. *puntellare* 'to shore up', denom. to *puntello* (from *pungit* 'pierces') 'a stick pointed for the support of walls'. In primitive house building 'shoring' and 'lashing' were a conjoint operation, which accounts for the sense of *stebnuty*; cf. *τέκτων* 'joiner', Lat. *texit* 'weaves': Skr. *tákṣati* 'hews'. Cognate in meaning with *stebnuty* 'to lash': *στέφανος*, *στέφος* 'wreath, sarta'; Germ. *stab*, Eng. *staff* reflect rather the sense of 'prop'. Lat. *tabulīnum* 'balcony' (i. e. 'propped') exhibits an earlier sense than *tabula* 'board' (for 'prop', cf. Lith. *stēbas* 'post', Wharton, l. c., s. v. *tabula*).

<sup>1</sup> Hereinafter referred to as Studies.

21) *skabhnāti* / *skabhnōti* 'props': no *n*-flexion (but cf. Lat. *scannum* 'bench'). On the relation of Skr.  $\sqrt{\text{skabh-}}$  to  $\sqrt{\text{stabh-}}$  see j. above. Of semantic interest *σκήπτεται* 'props oneself, leans upon (a staff)'; but *σκήπτει σκήπτεται* 'throws, hurls (a spear)'.

22) *ḡrathnāti* 'loosens, slackens':<sup>1</sup> no *n*-flexion.

O. E. *-hred-dan*, Germ. *retten* 'to save' show the sense of *λύει* (no. 2), *soluit*, *sospes* (no. 15). I suppose *ḡrath-* to be ultimately akin to *ḡrṇāti* 'splits' (no. 7), and more closely with *ḡrátkeṇoti* 'gives assurances', *ḡráddadhāti* 'trusts', with semantic and historic development on the lines suggested for Lat. *foedus* (no. 14).

In a passage like Plautus, *Persa*, 243, *fide data, credamus*, I suppose *credamus* to repeat the sense of *fide data*. Accordingly, *ḡrath-* was, I take it, a sample cut off as a guarantee of genuineness, or as an earnest for the fulfilment of a bargain, as in later times the sale of land was symbolized by the delivery of a turf cut from the land. The metaphor were easier, more natural to our modern psychology, if *ḡrath-* meant 'to bind' as well as 'to cut loose'. This is not impossible, perhaps. At any rate, Skr. *krṇāti* 'cuts' and *krntāti* 'binds' belong to a base KERT-, and *ḡrath-* seems to attest  $\check{\text{R}}\text{RET}(\text{H})$ , of the same meanings, cf.  $\check{\text{R}}\text{ER-}$  'frangere' in *ḡrṇāti*, but  $\text{S}\text{KER-}$  'caedere' in *krṇāti* (see v. below).

23) *lināti* 'sticks to': *n*-forms in Lat. *linit* 'smears' (= streicht), pf. *læv-i*, O. Ir. *lenim* 'I hang, stick on', O. N. *lina* 'mulcere'. The base is  $\text{L}\check{\text{E}}(\text{Y})-$ , mutating with  $\text{L}\check{\text{O}}(\text{W})-$ , see no. 2.

M. (= C.) To strike, beat; cleanse, wash;—bathe, swim.

In a discussion of the vocalism of Latin *lavit* 'washes' (in *Studies*, p. 200) I set up a base  $\text{L}\check{\text{E}}\text{W-}/\text{L}\check{\text{O}}\text{W-}/\text{L}\check{\text{A}}(\text{W})-$  'to cut, scrape, scour', justifying the semantic question involved by O. Ir. *faiscim* 'I squeeze': Ger. *waschen*, O. B. *myti* 'lavari': Lith. *máuju* 'I strip'. Add Lith. *scalbiù* (:  $\kappa\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$  'caedo', Prellwitz, s. v.) "wasche, mit dem Waschholz schlagend"; Lith. *peĩti* "baden, mit dem Badequast schlagen", O. B. *perq* "schlage, wasche" (BB. 28,6). So in English a beetle is a 'batte de blanchisseuse', and *to battle* = 'to wash (clothes); 'to scrub' is ('to scratch), rub, wash' and Skr. *áhata* is defined as "nicht geschlagen, nicht gewaschen". One who has seen a Mexican peasant woman wash has got a glimpse of the industry in nearly a primitive form, and the highly developed Turkish bath for the

<sup>1</sup> Classified as a negative verb of 'binding' (cf. Germ. *losbindet*), and = "to cut loose".



person has been described in my hearing as "a beating, pounding". Washing, in the earlier periods, when men were clad in skins, must have been one of the processes in tanning, and not a process of laundrying or of bathing.<sup>1</sup>

That all applications of water, or actions performed by or with water, had a common nomenclature, or derived their nomenclature from one semantic source is by no means likely.<sup>2</sup> Anybody who has ever seen a puppy or young child swim has seen a noisy beating of the water. "Swimming" is unlikely to have developed through "bathing", from "washing", but it seems to me likely to be of denominative origin, and to come from "boat". Was the boat a "cutter" or a "dug-out"? More probably the latter, cf. σκάφος: σκάπτει<sup>3</sup> 'digs'; κέλης, Lat. *celox* "despatch boat": KEL- or KĒL-(?) 'to cut' (cf. no. 11);<sup>4</sup> Eng. *boat* (from pre-Teutonic *baito*): BHID 'to split'(?); Lat. *linter*—dismissing the legendary connection with πλυντήρ, but not the spelling *lunter*—: *lu-nāti* (see no. 2). The *linter* was unquestionably a "dug-out" (cf. Vergil, Georg. I, 262, Livy, 21, 26). But these water-words enjoy a wide range of meaning, as for instance πλεῖ 'sails, swims': πλύνει 'washes': *pluit* 'rains'. The connotation of 'abundance' (= *ab-unda-ntia*) seems also well established in this group, e. g. in νάει, ναίει 'flows, drips with, abounds in',—a common figure, "a land flowing with milk and honey".<sup>5</sup>

24) *pru-ṣṇāti* 'sprinkles: *n*-flexion in O. B. *prysnati* 'lavare' (Lith. *prausiū*). On the division *pru-ṣṇāti* see no. 2. A parallel *l*-form in πλύνει 'lavit' (? from πλῦσναι). The primitive meaning is reflected in πλύνειν τινά 'to score (abuse) one'; πλυνός 'trough, tub' (= dug-out, cf. λη-νός, no. 2). With the bases PR-U- and PL-U- cf. the bases PER- 'to strike, pierce' (περᾶ and its kin) and PEL- 'strike' (Lat. *pellit* and its kin); see also nos. 27, 35. With

<sup>1</sup> But I have before me a soap advertisement: It "will cut paint, grease, coal soot or any kind of dirt".

<sup>2</sup> French *couler*, denominative to Lat. *cōlum* 'strainer' has reached a very wide range of meaning: trickles, runs; drops, falls off; flows, melts, leaks; insinuates; sinks, etc.

<sup>3</sup> (?) Eng. *ship*: σκάφος from a base SKĒ(Y)BH-?

<sup>4</sup> Add κελέβη 'cup', κελός 'wood-pecker', κελεφός 'breaking out', κέλυφος 'pod, shell': could the boat have been conceived as a shell (see *nausciit* above in C)?

<sup>5</sup> Accordingly, I would identify the base of Lat. *plēnus* 'full', with the base of *pluit* 'rains', viz. PLĒ(W)-, cf. πλέως 'full', from PLĒWO-. Note particularly πλούτος 'abundantia, opes', from PLŌWTOS. See no. 27.

a *d*-determinative, Lith. *plūduriu* 'nato'. Forms of this root also show the sense 'to hasten', e. g. AV. *fravaiti*, O. Ir. *con-ludium* 'eo': *luath* 'celer' (cf. R. below).

25) *punāti* 'cleanses, purifies': no *n*-forms. Lat. *putat* in *amputat* 'cuts about' exhibits the primary sense 'caedere', the compound here preserving, as often, the more original sense; but *putat* 'thinks' is derived from 'cuts, notches, reckons'; cf. *puvire* 'ferire' (Paulus-Festus): Skr. *po-th-ayati* 'mutilates', Lat. *puteus* 'pit', *puter* 'rotten' (if = 'breaking, decaying'; or 'pungent', cf. *caries* 'decay' in no. 7). O. H. G. *fowen* 'to sift' has developed like Lat. *cernit* 'separates, sifts'<sup>1</sup> (: KER-, see no. 11). I write the base as PĒ(Y)-/ PŌ(W)- 'caedere' (see nos. 41, 51, fn., 102, 168), not PEWƏ 'to strain', *pace* Meringer, l. c. 188.

Further cognates:

	πί-voς 'λυθρον, lutum'	πινυτός 'bescheiden'
	πί-vaξ 'board' (no. 26 fn.)	<i>pavet</i> 'scares at' (no. 14)
Skr.	<i>pīnākam</i> 'club'	<i>pavit</i> 'strikes'
O. B.	<i>pīni</i> 'truncus'	παίνει 'breaks off, ceases' (=re t u n d i t,
Lat.	<i>paulum</i> 'little' (12, fn. 2)	re s e c a t)

N (=F.) (1) To cut, pierce, fix; arrange; (2) spread out; pile up; mix.

The development of meanings in (1) will, I take it, be clear to any English-speaking person who knows that *fix* comes from *figere* 'to pierce'. The sense 'to spread out' may have developed from a sense 'caedere, scindere', cf. O. Ir. *scailim* 'I scatter' (no. 11), and σκεδάωvνvσι 'scatters', Eng. *sheds*, 'pours, spills' (: SK(H)Ē(Y)D- 'to cut' see no. 119); σπειρει 'scatters, sows': πείρει 'pierces, broaches' (no. 31). Spreading out by some mechanical process of beating or splitting would also afford a point of departure for the development of meaning here in question. The development of Eng. *piles* from Lat. *pīlum* 'shaft' (=javelin), *pīla* 'shaft' (=pillar), and of *stacks*, denominative to *stake* (: *sticks*) sufficiently explain the sense of 'piles up'. The development of the general notion of 'filling' was noted in M.; see also no. 27. The action of 'mixing, stirring' was performed with a *stick*, and verbs of this meaning seem to be denominatives; cf. Fr. *touiller* = Lat. *tudiculare*.

<sup>1</sup> Germ. *schlagen* means 'to pass through a sieve'.

For the general development of ideas cf. Eng. *strikes* = "packs fish in a barrel, lades wine in a cooler", Germ. "*schlägt* waare in ein papier". Eng. *batter* is dough (= a mixture) beaten together. Eng. *rams* 'strikes' has developed the sense of 'tamps, beats, fills up'.

26) *stṛṇāti/stṛṇōti* 'strews': *n*-flexion in *στόρνυμι* 'I spread, smooth': Lat. *sternit*. The base STER- may be of denominative origin = 'to put down a skin', cf. the gloss on *storia* 'omne quod sterni potest sive de pelle factum sive aliquo [= alio?] genere storiā dicebant'.<sup>2</sup> But a sense 'caedere, forare' may be seen in *τεῖρω* (see the cognates in Prellwitz, s. v.); note *stria* 'furrow', *στορεῖς* 'fire-drill', a meaning likely to be primitive in view of the sacredness attaching to fire-making (see Schrader, l. c., s. v. Feuerzeug); while *στέρ-φος/τέρ-φος*, Lat. *tergus* may be semantically interpreted by *δέρμα* (no. 1). The passage from 'beating' to 'smoothing, spreading out' is easy. I note the German denominative *breiten* 'to strew, spread', from *breit* 'broad'; cf. the locution *breit schlagen* 'to spread out, flatten'.<sup>3</sup>

Of semantic interest:

*struit* 'heaps up, builds'

*στορχάζει* 'pens in, stockades'<sup>4</sup>

27) *prṇāti/prṇōti* 'fills': *n*-flexion in O. Ir. *linaim* 'pleo'.

The sense 'fills' has been touched already in F. and in M. and fn., but a fuller discussion seems necessary. Taking what we may call the modern verb root *pack*, denominative to *pack* 'a bundle', note *packs* = 'fills, stuffs', Germ. *packt* (häringe in die

<sup>1</sup> The primitive sense was 'scatters' (?).

<sup>2</sup> See above on *skunāti* (no. 19) for the general problem involved, and cf. Fr. *joncher* which from 'strewing' with *rushes* has come to be used for 'scattering' with flowers—blood, corpses.

<sup>3</sup> It is unessential whether or no *breit* is from \**mraitos*: Skr. *√mri-* 'to fall to pieces', for its combination with *schlagen* 'caedere' shows that 'broadness' is the condition produced by 'beating, striking'. If we combine *breit* with *ferit* 'strikes' we may set up a proethnic locution BHRĀITÓM BHERĀITI 'breite ferit'. Similarly BHRĀDHOM BHERĀITI yields 'board ferit' (= scindulam scindit). Along the same semantic lines we may explain Eng. *wide* 'breit' as a derivation of the root of Skr. *vidhyati* 'pierces', Lat. *dī-vidit* 'splits', Skr. *vidhūs* 'solus', Lat. *viduus* 'separated, bereaved' (no. 15). The base LĒ(Y)-DH-/LŌ(W)-DH- (see no. 2) 'to split' has parallel formations in Germ. *ledig* 'solus'; *līber*, *ἐ-λεύθερος* 'free', cf. Lat. *liber* 'peel, bark': Germ. *leder* 'δέρμα'.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *munire* 'to build a wall, a road', from *moenia* 'ditch-and-dam, stockade' (no. 12).

tonne, wir werden in die kutsche *gepackt*) which show a different development of the sense 'filling' in special contexts.<sup>1</sup> Another concrete development in *farcit* 'stuffs': *φράσσει* 'fences in', which I suppose to have meant 'puts up stakes, tamps with a stick',<sup>2</sup> cf. Lat. *stipat* 'crowds, presses, crams', denominative to *stip-s* 'stake'.<sup>3</sup> Eng. *stuffs* is late Lat. *stuppāt* 'fills with tow' (: *stuppa* 'tow'). The German locution 'der fresser schlägt sich den leib voll' and *stosz* (*holzstosz*) "von dem was aufeinander gestossen, aufgeschichtet wird" seem to conform to *farcit*, *φράσσει* in their development. So (*com-*)*plet* 'fills' (cf. its sexual sense = 'crams') may be specialized from (*com-*)*pellit* ('zusammen—) schlägt, stösst'.<sup>4</sup> Further cognates of PEL-/PLĒ- are πόλις 'city' (i. e. 'stockade', cf. *φράσσει*), πολύς 'many' (i. e. 'frequens': *farcit*); English parallel, *stack* 'pile, heap, quantity—plenty' (: *sticks* 'pierces', *stake*, *stockade*=*φράγμα*); cf. the Latin gloss *speltum* 'telum missile'.

The base s)PEL- has, in Lith. *pilti*, the special sense 'to pour',<sup>5</sup> shed', and as *sheds* is a specialized sense of SKHĒ(Y)-DH- 'to cut', we may infer a similar development of meaning in *pilti*<sup>6</sup>: Eng. *spills*, Germ. *spaltet*; *pilti* also has the violent sense of 'prügel'n', as well as the sense 'to fill' (cf. Eng. *rams*).

As the mutation PLŌ(W)- has been found in *πλούτος* (see M. fn.), so PLĒ(Y)- occurs in Gr. *πλείων*, Skr. *prāyas*, and PLĒ(Y)-DH- in *πλί-ν-θ-ος* (: Lettic *plītēl* 'schlagen') 'brick' (i. e. *caespēs*, see no. 15, n. 5).

A cognate base s)PER- in no. 35.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for their semantic value *sich packen*, 'sein bündel schnüren und fort gehen'; die hunde haben ein tier *gepackt*; Fr. *paqueter* 'to bind, imprison'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cicero, Or. 69. 231 *inferciens verba quasi rimas expleat*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eng. *rams* in N. above.

<sup>4</sup> Note the *n*-flexion of *pellit*.—Cf. the gloss *rumpent* pro implebunt (Vergil, Georg. 3. 328); Lewis and Short define *rumpit* by 'fills to repletion'.—If Lat. *pallidus* 'pale' has gone through the semantic development of Eng. *wan*, which meant 'dark, black' before it meant 'pale', we might define *pallidus* by 'bruised' (: *pellit* 'strikes'), cf. O. Fr. *blesme* 'wan, pale': *blesmir* 'to wound, stain, make pale'.

<sup>5</sup> See M., end, for PLĒ(W)- 'to overflow'.

<sup>6</sup> Note Germ. *schüttet* 'sheds, spills, pours', base SKHŌ(W)-DH- 'to cut', further attested by *κώθων* 'cup', *κηβίς* 'dice box', Lat. *cudo* 'helmet' and, with different determinatives, Skr. *khuddti* 'futuut' (= *stōsst* hinein), Lat. *scutula* 'little dish'. The kinship of *khuddti* with *caedit* 'futuut' (Catullus, Auctor Priapeus) seems certain; see no. 119.

28) Av. *varənantē* 'schwanger machen'.

Cognition with Skr. *vāras* εὔρος 'breadth', (base WER-), or with the base WEL-, to be described in no. 52, is equally possible. For the sense—which is closely involved with the flexional type—cf. Lat. *com-plet* (: *com-pellit*)—in low English—'k n o c k s u p' (see no. 27).

29) *ḡrīṇāti* 1) mixes; 2) boils, roasts:<sup>1</sup> *n*-flexion in κεράννυμι/κίρνυμι 'I mix', O. E. *hrinan* 'to touch'. I take the primary meaning to have been "to beat,<sup>2</sup> stir with a stick" (= Ital. *mestare*),<sup>3</sup> as, for instance, one stirs boiling clothes; the same stick used as a spit would give rise to a denominative 'spits, roasts'. German forms [O. H. G. *h)ruoren*] show a base extended by *s*, and perhaps κεράννυμι is for \*κερα-σννυμι (see no. 2); cf. also Skr. *ḡlīṣyati* 'sticks on',<sup>4</sup> *ḡlēṣayati* 'sticks together' (= makes touch). I infer a base *ḡ(E)RĒ(Y)-S-* 'to pierce, stick, stir with a stick', cognate with *ḡER-* (see no. 7), and ultimately with *S)KER*, (see no. 11). Cognates: *cribrum* 'sieve',<sup>5</sup> Lith. *szerys* 'brush', Lat. *crinis* 'hair', *crista* 'tuft', *cris-pus* 'curly' (= woolly). The meanings 'hair, tuft, brush' are derived as in *lāvas* (cf. no. 2) "abgeschnittenen, schur, wolle, haar", the meaning 'sieve' as in Fr. *sas* from Lat. *saetacium* (: *saeta*, 'hair, bristles', cf. Lith. *šėtas* 'rope, sieve' in no. 15), *κόσκινον* 'sieve': *κεσκίων* 'tow'.

30) *mathnāti* 'stirs': no certain *n*-forms. This verb is of denominative origin (see no. 39): *mánthan-* / *math-* / *mathi-* 'stirring-stick', Lith. *mentūris*, Lat. *mentula* 'membrum virile'. The *n* is an infix, cf. O. B. *motatī se* 'agitari'. Is *mathi-* akin to *methi-* 'stake' (no. 12), base *MĒ(Y)-T-* / *MĒ(Y)-DH-* (see j. above)? Note Lat. *mēta* 'goal-post'. The *mēta* was a phallus,<sup>6</sup> see the illustration in Schreiber's Atlas, pl. 27. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Whitney subdivides, writing 1 *ḡrīṇā-* 2 *crīṇā-*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eng. *batter* 'dough' (= beaten up), and Fr. *touiller* (no. 25).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *frucare*, defined in Körting's Lat.-Roman Woert.<sup>2</sup> 3521 by "cercare tentando con bastone, mestare"; *mestare* 'to mix, mingle, blend' (from Lat. *mixtus*) has the specialized sense "to stir with a pot-stick". In *frucare* (from Lat. *furca* 'fork'), the development of ideas is perfectly transparent.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eng. *strikes* 'adheres'.

<sup>5</sup> Is *cribrum* from *ḡRIS-ROM*, or from *ḡRĪ-DHROM* (: Eng. *riddle*)? Gr. *κησέπα* (? *σ* from *σσ*) 'sieve' may also be derived from a base *ḡRĒY-S-*.

<sup>6</sup> This is still clearer for the *mēta*-stone in a cornmill, which is clearly a 'glans penis' (see Mau-Kelsey's Pompeii<sup>2</sup> fig. 321). In Greece, the *νύσσα* was either a goal-post or a gravestone, both phallic, as the earlier Homeric

With *mēta/mentula* cf. *μη-δεα* 'genitalia' (base *MĒ(Y)-D-*).

O. To strike, kindle.

The development of senses here assumed is in thorough accord with the known facts of primitive fire-making, viz. by 'striking' a flint (cf. *feuer schlagen*), by 'boring' it out with a fire-drill or other process of friction; or we may think of fire as produced by the lightning 'stroke'. An implement known as a 'strike-a-light' is still in use. Accordingly, we may derive Skr. *pāvakās* 'fire' from the root of Lat. *pavit* 'strikes' [cf. *pīp* 'fire': *pū-rus* ('rubbed') clean—see no. 25]. There is no phonetic reason why Eng. *hot* does not belong with *hit*, and both to Lat. *caedit* 'cuts', cf. Goth. *hais* 'torch' (Uhlenbeck got. Woert. s. v.): *KEI-* [? *kĒ(Y)-*], with meaning as in *δεραι* 'faggot, torch': *DĒ(Y)-* to split > < splice' (see L. fn.). Very clear is the metaphor in Germ. *ans t e c k t* 'kindles', cf. Gr. *ἄπτεi* 'puts touchwood to', O. N. *kynda* 'to inflame, kindle', ultimately denominative to Lat. *candela* (Skeat, l. c., s. v. 2 kindle). There is yet another way of mediating between the notions of 'burning' and 'piercing', and that is by noting the metaphor in locutions like 'prickly heat', 'die hitze sticht', which describe the effect of 'burning' on the sentient human; cf. Eng. *stinging nettle*=Germ. *brenn-nessel*. Furthermore, fire was perhaps the most effective cutting instrument at the command of the neolithic woodworker (cf. Mason, l. c., p. 32), 'burning' being derived from 'cutting', rather than conversely, as I have it set down in *Studies*, p. 202. If the root *SNĒ(Y)-/SNŌ(W)-* nowhere reaches the sense of 'kindle' it approaches it in the frequent combination *νηεν ξύλα*—*ἔλην*,

description shows: "A fathom's height above the ground standeth a withered stump . . . and two white stones on either side thereof are fixed at the joining of the track . . . Whether it be a monument of some man dead long ago, or have been made their goal (*νίσσα*), etc. (Lang's Version, *Iliad*, Φ 327 sq.).—A word on the etymology of *νίσσα*: it belongs with *νίσσει* 'pungit' (: *NU-GH-*) and with Lat. *nuc-s* (*NU-K*) 'glans, acorn', 'acorn' being subsequent in meaning to 'glans' (sc. penis); so, I take it, *gladius* 'sword' and *βάλανος* 'pessulus' show an earlier sense than their cognates *glans*, *βάλανος* 'mast' (i. e. *nuces*); in short, the 'acorn' was named from its likeness to the glans penis, and not conversely. Were not the *nuces* distributed at Italian weddings *glandes*, phallic symbols outright?—In English, *mast* 'stake' (= *gladius*, *νίσσα*) and *mast* 'glandles, *nuces*' are phonetically identical, and have been so as far back as their phonetic history is of record [? base *MĒ(Y)-S-D-*: Skr. *méd(h)as* 'fat', remotely cognate with *math-* 'stirring stick', cf. *methi-* 'stake' (no. 12)].

etc. (cf.  $\pi\upsilon\rho\tau'$   $\epsilon\delta$   $\nu\eta\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ ,  $\alpha$  322), but in these contexts it is of "building" rather than of "kindling" a fire we must think.

Supposing a verb to have developed a sense 'to kindle' from a more primitive 'to strike', it may well have been that the derived sense completely ousted the original sense, or that the two meanings were allocated to different grades of the root (see no. 93). Something might also be said for the 'split and rayed' conception shown by primitive pictures of the sun; cf. Ital. *spuntare* (= 'to prick apart') used of the 'bursting forth of the sun's rays'. This admits of interpreting Lat. *candet* 'shines' and its kin as from  $s)KH\check{E}(V)-N-DH-$  'to split, burst'.

31) *subhnāti* 'entzündet, inflammiert' (= accendit): no *n*-flexion. The definitions are figurative only, but the primitive sense was 'schlägt' (see Johansson, I. F. 3, 237). The base  $SU-BH-$  is an extension of  $s\check{O}(w)-$  'to split > < splice' (in no. 15).

As to form, *subhnāti* 'schlägt' may be a blend of  $s\check{O}(w)-$  'to strike' +  $*\delta hnāti$ : O. Ir. *benim* 'I strike, cut'.

32) *usnāti* 'kindles': no *n*-forms. Possible cognates are *úṣya-lam*, 'δέμνιον', *usnā́sas* 'head-band' (both in the Atharvan, the folklore Veda): *εὐνή* 'bed' (cf. *δέμνιον*). These words might be held to attest as base  $US-$  'to bind', cf. *ἄπτει* 'binds > < kindles' (Eng. *torch*: *torquet* 'twists', *δαίει*:  $D\check{E}(V)-$  'to split > < splice'). The *Dhātupāṭha* cites a root *vas* 'stossen, stechen, futuere' (cf. *úṣas* 'amator'), which admits of our setting up a weak base  $US-$  'to split > < splice'. Add Skr. *usrás*, *usṛā́*, *usṛas* 'bovis' (*i u g a - t u s*), *ῥσ-πληγξ* 'snare', *ῥσ-κλος* 'lacing' *ῥσ-γγ* 'bunch of flowers'.

33) *pluṣnāti* 'burns, sings': no *n*-forms. Was the primary sense 'sticht'? Cf. *plúṣ-is* 'stinging insect', Lat. *prurít* 'itches, burns to'.

P (= H) To strike, hit, attain, obtain.

The correlation of ideas here assumed is so well set forth by the meanings of *τυγχάνει* that I may spare myself any further demonstration; cf. *κτάομαι* 'I get', *κέκτημαι* *habeo*: *κτίννυμι* 'I slay, schlage', (? with *-νν-* for *-σν-* as in no. 2):  $Kp\check{E}(V)-$ . In a primitive period the most important obtaining was the getting of game, by means of the spear or the snare or pit-fall. Thus we may unite Skr. *nā́cati* 'nanciscitur' (= trifft) and *nā́cyati* 'wird getroffen' (: *necat* 'kills', *nocet* 'hurts'). Here belongs:

34) *aṣnā́tē* 'attains' (from  $*\eta\check{k}-$ ): *n*-flexion in Armen. *hasa-nem*.

35) *sp̥r̥h̥āti* 'wins, liberat, saves': *n*-flexion in *sp̥ernit* 'strikes off, rejects', M. E. *spurnen*. Base S)PER- 'to pierce':

<i>sparum</i> 'spear' (Lucilius)	πείρει 'broaches'
σπείρει 'scatters, sows' (N.)	<i>par-vus</i> 'small' (12, fn. 2)
<i>parat</i> 'procures (P.), makes' (see no. 11)	<i>par</i> 'similis' (15, n. 2)
Base S)PEL- no. 27	πρ-άπτει 'makes'

36) Av. *vānaiti*/*vanaoiti* 'siegt', M. Pers. *vānītan* 'besiegen, schlagen': *n*-form in Lat. *vēnātur* 'hunts'.

Base wĒ(Y)- 'to split > < splice'. The first of these contrasting meanings has not hitherto been demonstrated. I infer it from

Skr. <i>vāçī</i> 'axe'	(?) <i>veçī</i> 'needle'
Av. <i>vīnaoiti</i> 'necat, caedit'	

and, with determinatives,

√ <i>vadh-</i> 'to kill'	√ <i>vidh-</i> 'to pierce' (cf. no. 55)
<i>vddhris</i> 'τομίας'	<i>vđpati</i> 'schert'
<i>vđpati</i> 'throws, strews, sows' (cf. N)	<i>vēlā</i> 'litus' (no. 2)
<i>vapā</i> 'δέρετρον' (no. 1)	Lat. <i>vitium</i> 'culpa' (no. 14)
	<i>vitat</i> 'shuns' (if = 'cuts loose from') <sup>1</sup>

This base appears in no. 51, in the form wĒY-L-.

37) *gr̥bh̥h̥āti* 'seizes': *n*-flexion in Lith. *grabinė-ti* 'to pull to and fro'.

In q. above, it was held that in *grabinė-ti*, *-nė-* = *-NĒ(Y)-*. Further note that *-inė-* corresponds to *-avei-*, in *λανθ-άνει-s*, e. g.

The cognates of this group no longer strongly attest the primary sense of 'hit', if that ever existed, but Germ. *garbe* 'sheaf' does not disprove it, cf. *ἀμαλλα* 'garbe' (: *ἀμῆ* 'cuts, reaps'), even though it has developed the sense of 'manipulum'. The sense of 'pluck, gather, seize' may be derived on the lines shown in 'pinch, nip'; cf. Lat. *stringit* 'plucks, gathers': *striga* 'swath, furrow'. With *garbe* we may unite Lat. *forbea/herba* 'fodder' (cf. Germ. *heu* : *hauen*), Gr. *φορβή* 'pasturage', assuming primitive G<sup>W</sup>HORB(H)Ā.

38) *muṣṣh̥āti* 'steals': no *n*-forms, and no certain cognates, thinks Uhlenbeck, who hesitatingly compares *muṣṣis* 'fist'. Add

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *φειδομαι* 'I avoid': Skr. *bhid-* 'to split' (in no. 14), see also nos. 162-3.



*mūsālas* 'pestle', ἀμεύσασθαι<sup>1</sup> 'to beat, surpass, conquer', μύστρον 'spoon' [*sphoon* means 'splinter'], μιστίλλει (? for μυστίλλει) 'crumbles, breaks up'; Lat. *mustus* 'gepresstes'. The base s)MŌ(w)- is attested by Lat. *movet* 'stösst', *mōles* 'stosz' (see no. 27), pile', μῶλος 'schlachtgetümmel'. The base s)MĒ(y)- (see no. 12) is parallel, cf. σμῖς (Hesychius), σμί-ν-θος 'mouse': MŪ-s- 'mouse' (= 'cutter, nibbler'). For the general semantic problems involved note Eng. *strikes* "takes by force, fraud or stealth, as money; steals" (Standard Dictionary).

Of some semantic interest is *mušitas* 'naked', the primitive sense of which must have been 'stript', cf. Ital. *spoglio* = 'nudo' (see B. β, above).<sup>2</sup>

39) *jīnāti* 'robs'<sup>3</sup>: *n*-flexion (and cognates) only in Iranian, it would appear (but see no. 60); cf. O. Pers. *a-dinā* 'ademit' (*d* from *ġ*). So far as the sense goes, there is no need to separate from βιάομαι 'I defraud, cheat' (see no. 9). I set up as base *ġĒ(y)*- 'caedere':

γέ-νυς 'edge, point',	γέ-νυς 'jaw' <sup>4</sup>
Goth. <i>kinnus</i> ( <i>nn</i> from <i>nw</i> ) 'jaw'	<i>keinan</i> 'buds' (no. 41)
Skr. <i>jé-h-ate</i> ' (splits), gapes, pants' <sup>5</sup>	

40) *ḡamnīte* 'labors, zurichtet, bereitet': *n*-flexion in κάμνει 'forges, tills, labors; wins by labor'. With the general sense attained in Greek (cf. Liddell and Scott, s. v. κάμνω I) cf. Eng. *shapes*, Germ. *schaftt*: Lith. *skabėti* 'dolare'.

The base is *ġŌM*- 'to split > < splice' (?):

Skr. <i>ḡdmalam</i> 'macula, culpa' (no. 11)	<i>ḡamitā</i> 'schlächter'
<i>ḡtmas</i> 'zertheiler, arranger'	(?) Lat. <i>cōm-it</i> 'fixes (: figit), arranges'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *muṣṇāti* in the half *ḡloka* (Böhtlingk, Chrest. 251. 5)

tasya muṣṇāti sāubhāgyam tasya kāntim vilumpati  
'surpasses (con t u n d it) his good luck, destroys his lustre'.

Here the smaller Petersburg lexicon expressly renders *muṣṇāti* by "übertrifft".

<sup>2</sup> May not an Indo-Iranian \**muṣitds* be reflected in the initial *m*- of Av. *mayno*: Skr. *nagnḍs*?

<sup>3</sup> Whitney defines by 'injures', a definition that would put *jīnāti* under class K.

<sup>4</sup> I have heard children recite the following rigmarole: "forehead bender; eyes seer; nose smeller; mouth eater; chin chopper."

<sup>5</sup> If *h* is a determinative, but if we have broken reduplication, from a parallel base *ġHĒ(y)*- (see no. 53).

καμάρα 'pit, arch'	κάμινος 'forge'
κάμαξ 'stake, prop'	κῶμης 'bundle, tuft' <sup>1</sup>
κόμη 'hair'	κῶμος 'village' (if = stockade)
κόμβωμα 'robe, band'	Skr. <i>ḥimbas</i> 'pod-fruit'

With the neuter sense of *ḡāmyati* 'is tired, rests, ceases' cf. *κοπιᾷ* 'is tired,' *κόπος* 'weariness': *κόπτει* 'caedit', noting colloquialisms like *beats* = 'tires', is (dead) *beat* = 'is (very) tired'.

The classification of this no. is admittedly inadequate; true, *κάμνει* means sporadically 'to attain, win by labor', but the sense of 'labors' in the group develops immediately from 'strikes' or 'digs', without passing through the stage 'attains'. In no. 41 also, the sense 'thrives' does not develop from 'attains', though it possibly might have done so, for in English 'thrives' has developed from 'to grasp, seize'.

41) *puṣṇāti* 'thrives': no *n*-forms and no base *PUS-* 'to thrive' attested out of Sanskrit. The definitions of  $\sqrt{pus}$  would of themselves show that the sense was 'blooms, flourishes'; cf. also *púṣkaram* 'lotus', *puṣpam* 'flower'. The notions 'bloom, flower' develop, however, from 'to burst, split', as in the following examples,

Lith. *dýgti* 'to bud, sprout' (: *dygyūs* 'pointed')

Skr. *samtudayati* 'buds, sprouts' (:  $\sqrt{tud}$  'to strike')

*sphutati* 'berstet, aufblüht' (: Germ. *spaltet*, no. 27)

O. H. G. *briozan* 'to break, bud'

O. E. *cinan* 'to burst, bud' (no. 39)

Ger. *ausschlägt* 'buds'.

Fr. *brocher*, *poindre*, *pointer* describe the 'coming to a point' of buds, and we speak of buds 'bursting'; cf. Skr. *ud bhid*, like Germ. *aufbrechen*; Ital. *s-puntare* (cf. Fr. *brocher*) means 'to bud, bloom'. Further note the locutions Spargel stösst, erdbeeren stossen ranken, das korn ist in die höhe geschlagen; jetter des bourgeons,—des scions,—des racines. If we look for a similar development for  $\sqrt{pus}$  or *pu-*<sup>2</sup> [for *pu-snāti* may be the ultimate division (see no. 2)], we may connect with the base *PŌ(w)-* of no. 25. This is the base of *pu-trás* 'son', *-πῶλος* 'colt', *παῖς* 'son', Lat. *pover/puer*—i. e. 'scion', which is of the com-

<sup>1</sup> Uhlenbeck, s. v. *ḡamē*, sets up a root *ḡem* 'to cover'.

<sup>2</sup> It is possible to divide *pú-ṣkaram*, defining *pu-* as 'breaking, bursting' and *ṣkaram* as 'splitting, bursting' (see no. 11). Note the sense of *pustakam* 'scriptum' (: *scribere* 'scratch, write').

monest metaphors, e. g., *ἔρνος, φίτνυμα*,<sup>1</sup> *ὄζος*, Skr. *túk/tokám* 'liberi': Av. *taoxma* 'bud'. In view of the frequently approved explanation of *materies*—"das zu mater gehört, denn die 'mutter', das kernholz des stammes, ist das baumaterial wie Solmsen, Berlin. Phil. Woch. 1902, Sp. 1140, gesehen hat" (Meringer, l. c., p. 158)—*pu-trás* might be defined in the light of the phrase "a chip of the old block".

Q. To split, bite, eat.

This semantic chain is clearly exhibited by *φιδίτιον* 'cena', Eng. *bites*: Lat. *findit* (no. 14), as well as by Germ. *zehren* (no. 1). Also note *mordet* 'bites, eats' [: no. 4, cf. *μηῆλαμ* 'edible lotus' (no. 5)], *cibi-cida* 'glutton', *κόπτει* 'pecks, gnaws'; *κορέννυσι* (with *-νν-* for *-σν-*, no. 2?) 'stuffs, (feeds)': Lith. *sžėrti* 'füttern', belonging to the base of no. 7, if we define *κορέννυσι* by 'rumpit', as in the gloss cited in no. 22; Lat. *satis* 'bursting, teeming' (in no. 15), as we say "full to bursting"; Eng. *browses* (see Skeat, s. v.), which derives from O. E. *brēotan* 'to break'. In the German locution "der fresser schlägt sich den leib voll" (see no. 27) we find a kindred metaphor; Germ. *frisst* 'edit' = Eng. *frets* 'eum piget (: *pingit* 'tattoos, pricks, punctures', *piger* 'lazy' = 'sticking',—cf. *νωχελής*, above, C. β—, see Am. Jr. Phil. 21, 198), edit' (= rodit).

In this pastoral land of Texas 'staking' means 'tying a horse to a stake for him to graze',<sup>2</sup> and 'holding' means 'to hold a horse by a halter for him to graze'; and I have heard of one housekeeper that used to say with homely kindness, when bidding her guests to fall to, "lariat yourselves out".

42) *αῖσνᾶτι* 'eats'. This verb, without plain cognates, it would appear, is but a special case of *αῖσνῆ* 'strikes, attains',—no. 34.

<sup>1</sup> I have no great confidence in the derivation of *φίτνυμα* from *φίτι-*, but rather connect it directly with the base *BHĒ(Y)-* 'stossen, schlagen' in no. 14. The mutation *BHŌ(W)-* 'to thrive, grow' became specialized in the sense 'to become, be' (no. 14, fn.). As to *BHĒ(Y)-* 'to strike, hit' / *BHŌ(W)-* 'to become, be', at least as violent a shift of meaning obtains in *κυρεῖ* 'hits' (Homer): *κυρεῖ 'ἔσρι* (Trag.); note also Germ. *lebt* ('sticks,) vivit' (no. 167).—The primitive sense of *BHŌ(W)-* persists in Lat. *futtilis* (why *-utt-* for *-ūt-*?—cf. *mitto* for *\*mīto?*) 'brittle' (: O. E. *brēotan* 'frangere', cf. *fragilis*). The obscene word *futuit* 'battuit, tundit, caedit' also attests *BHŌ(W)-* 'to strike'.

<sup>2</sup> Skr. *√vaṣ-* has developed the sense of 'graze' from 'shear'; the other *√vaṣ-* 'to scatter, strew, sprinkle' is secondary, having developed from *√vaṣ-* 'κολοῦει' as Ir. *scailim* 'I scatter' from *SKEL-* (no. 11).

43) 2 *grṇāti* 'swallows': *n*-flexion in Sanskrit only. A reason for the Sanskrit *n*-flexion in this verb and the last may be sought in the proethnic nasal flexion of the type Lat. *findit*: Eng. *bites*.

The notion of 'swallows' may have been derived from 'splits, gapes, yawns—swallows up', but the following words warrant the development discussed under Q. (but see no. 61).

Lat. *veru* 'spit' (Umbr. *beru*-)

Skr. *gārdā* 'pruriens'

*βάραθρον* 'pit'<sup>1</sup>

Skr. *gīrls* 'm o n s' (: m e n t u l a, see no. 30)

*gārtas* 'fossa'

### R. (= D.) Verbs of Motion.

The development of verbs of motion from verbs of the general sense 'caedere' is attested by words and phrases like the following: "to strike out,—for,—across" [M. E. *stricken* is an out-and-out verb of motion, though the primary meaning of the root (in no. 26) was 'ferire']; "to cut through,—across"; Germ. "schlagen—, streichen durch"; "to hit the road" = *τέμνειν ὁδόν*; M. E. *swappen* 'to strike, go quickly'; *pricks* 'spurs on, hastens'; "futura p u n g u n t" 'the future hastens'; *tuditans* 'pushing, driving on, agile'. In nouns, note Germ. *schneide* "durch den wald gehauenes weg". In the phrase 'to cut and run' cut connotes, among other things, motion; cf. also Germ. *sich links schlagen*. Still different is 'tears along'.

In conformity with the above locutions one is in a position to understand the semantic relation of *πείρει* 'pierces', *ἀναπείρει* 'spits, broaches': Eng. *fares*; Lat. *terit* 'bores': Skr. *tārati* 'crosses', *tvārate* 'hastens': T(W)ER- 'pierces, drills', cf. Eng. *splits* = "walks or runs rapidly"; Lat. *celer* 'swift': KEL- 'to cut' (nos. 11, 51 fn.).

<sup>1</sup> Beside *βάραθρον*, Ion. *βέρεθρον*, stands *βέθρον* and *βόθρος*, both = 'pit'. In view of doublets like *πιθάκνη* / *φιδάκνη*, the dogmatism which has separated *βόθρος* from *fodit* 'digs' was never justified, though as for *βόθρος*, its β- might be explained from *βάραθρον*, etc. A thorough and unprejudiced study of all the occurrences will, I venture to predict, reveal a state of facts we might graphically represent by writing B(H)ED(H)-, which means that dissimilation of aspirates was a process already at its beginning in the proethnic period.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the following (from Munsey's Magazine, Apr. 1904, p. 19): He and his wife had ridden for three hours through the Timli forest without seeing more than the cut of the "ride" before them.

In *wends*, from *winds*, we see how a verb of motion might have developed from the verbs discussed in L.

Or, if we start with 'drives', a causative of 'hastens', one who has ever seen an Italian donkey goaded and beaten along (cf. Boccaccio, Decam. 8. 9) will be satisfied of the part played by beating in driving. So Germ. *schlagen* means 'to drive (cattle)', cf. *δρύνει* 'goads on'. Most convincing is *ελαύνει*; I 'drives' (intrans. 'pushes on'); II 'strikes'; III 'beats, forges', though I and III should be arranged as specializations of II, in my opinion.<sup>1</sup>

44) *ināte/inōti* 'sends, drives, pushes (= thrusts); schaltet' (: *schilt* 'scolds'): no *n*-forms. Cognate with *ēti* 'goes'. The root *ey-* is probably of pronominal origin, and the nasal suffixes have been picked up from other verbs, semantically developed along the lines discussed in R., but see no. 45.

45) *iṣ-ṇāti* (or *i-ṣṇāti*, as in no. 2) 'sends': no *n*-forms of clearly related meaning; *ινάει*, *ινέει*, *ινόει* 'cleans, empties out', if cognate, are interesting for their triple vocalism.

Was the base, *ēy-s-* 'caedere'?<sup>2</sup> Cf. *αἶνων* (from *\*αισων*) 'πτίσσω' (= 'ventilans' or 'pinsens'), *αἶμους* (from *\*αισμο-*) 'ὀβελίσκους, αἰμύλος' *ὀξύς ἐν τῷ λέγειν*; *αἶμος* would be a grade of *ίός*, Skr. *izus* 'arrow', *iṣṭikā* 'reed', cf. Lat. *aer-umnula* (Festus) 'carrying stick', *aero* 'basket'.

46) Av. *miθnāiti* 'sends': no *n*-forms known to me. Lat. *mittit* (i. e. *\*mī-tit*) is doubtless a cognate, with the violent meaning of 'hurls' (cf. *βάλλει*, 1) 'strikes', 2) 'throws'), cognate with *minat* 'drives' (= strikes, in no. 12, cf. also *mathnāti* in no. 30). For the meaning, cf. *ἵημι* 'sends' which, whether it be cognate with *iacit* (Hirt, Ablaut, 52 anm.) or with *serit* 'sows' (see 16), seems to have developed from ('cuts,) scatters, throws'.

47) *junāti* 'hastens, drives on': no *n*-forms, and no cognates out of Indo-Iranian. The base *ḡō(w)-* may be a mutating form of *ḡē(y)-* in no. 39, the former meaning 'to strike out for', the latter 'to strike' = 'to steal' (no. 38); cf. nos. 9, 105.

<sup>1</sup> So far as the verbs comprised in D. above are concerned, they may have developed from the motion of flowing water, cf. Skr. *snāyati* 'drips', Germ. *rinne[n] / renne[n]*, Gr. *ῥέω* (of racers, of ships).

<sup>2</sup> This is the base I have written *ais-* (for *ais-*) (1) 'capit', (2) 'captat', (3) 'festinat', in Am. Jr. Phil. 25, 170. The meaning 'capit' is a specialization of the meanings in P. (H.), above.

48) *riṇāti* 'sets flowing': *n*-flexion in Gr. ῥίπτει, ῥίπνυει (-*vv*- for *sv*-) 'stirs, raises, incites, drives', O. Bulg. *rinqti* 'stossen, fließen', Goth. *rinnan* 'rennen, rinnen'. The original meaning seems to me preserved in Greek and Old Bulgarian. What the original source of the metaphor was in 'sets-flowing' is not ascertainable, perhaps: was it the 'breaking out' of water from the ground in springs, the 'breaking out' of water from the clouds by the thunderbolt, or the 'riving' (cf. Skeat, l. c., s. v., rive) of a channel by the stream itself? It would seem possible, in the terms of this triune metaphor, to unite the Sanskrit base *ray-* 'sets flowing' with the base *rav-* (see Uhlenbeck, s. v.) 'breaks in pieces, splits up', with the mutation *RĒ(Y)-/RŌ(W)-*. To this base would belong Lat. *rēs* 'share': Skr. *rayis*, *rāti* ('shares,') gives', Lat. *rō-dit* 'gnaws', *rū-dus* 'broken stone', *rē-tur* ('scores,') reckons, thinks' (see no. 25, above). With the sense 'to splice > < to split' Lat. *rē-te* 'net', *ra-tis* 'raft'. Beside the Sanskrit base *ray-* 'to flow', note the base *srav-*.

#### S. Verbs of Emotion.

The psychology of our time recognizes that the emotions are produced by what the scientific call '*stimuli*', impulses which the language of the people knows how to describe as 'pricks' and 'itches' (cf. Lat. *scabies* 'itch, longing': *scabit* 'scratches', Lith. *skabėti* 'dolare'). Sensations of pleasure and displeasure 'seize' upon us (cf. ein packendes, fesselndes buch), or 'strike' us (cf. *perculit* 'strikes, impresses'; stösst=ärgert mich), even sensations as generalized as a 'thought' or 'notion'. Our pains 'pierce' and 'sting'<sup>1</sup> and 'bite' us (*mordemur* 'we are bitten by pains', σμερδαλέος/σμερδνός 'painful'; *dolet* 'it grieves': *dolat* 'hacks'<sup>2</sup>—see my explanation of other impersonals of emotion in Am. Jr. Phil. 21, 197). We 'strike' ourselves in token of 'mourning' (κόπτεσθαι—, τύπτεισθαι τινα); fears strike us (*perculit* 'shocks, frightens'; schreck schlägt in die glieder)<sup>3</sup>. Joys 'prick' and 'tickle' us (late Lat. *mutuum scabere* 'to praise one another'="you tickle me and I'll tickle you"). We 'split' and 'burst' with anger; 'scratching' and 'massage' (= 'chafing') may be at once a solace or an irritation (Lat. *mulcet* 'strokes,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Browning (The Return of the Druses, III prope finem), And stinging pleasures please less and sting more.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eng. *hurts*: Fr. *heurter* 'to knock, hit'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *pavet* 'scares at': *pavit* 'strikes' (no. 25).

soothes': *mulcat* 'beats'). In German, *reizen*, which seems to be a cognate of *reissen* 'to incise, tear', is used of the arousing of either 'anger' or 'joy', and implies 'to vex' or 'to charm'. General considerations like these justify us in supposing that the base SNĒ(Y)- 'caedere' (see B., above) has entered into the flexional system of verbs of emotion.<sup>1</sup>

49) *prīṇāti* 'delights, satisfies': no cognates with *n*-flexion. The definition of Persian *ā-frīdan*, 'to shape', justifies setting up a base *prī* (from PRĀY-), which would be cognate with the base S)PER- 'to pierce' of no. 35 (see for the correlation of meaning no. 11); cf. *πρί-ων* 'saw'. 'Biting' is a well-known gesture of physical pleasure (cf., e. g., for the Roman poets, *morsus* in Pichon's de Serm. Amat. s. v.), and plays a rôle in the sexual life of animals. Further, cf. Lat. *privus* 'solus' (see no. 15), *privat* 'cuts off, separates, robs'. With *privus* 'solus' cf. *prīṇāti* 'solatur'.

50) *ramṇāti* 'delights, calms': no *n*-forms. The definitions 'steht still, ruht' and 'pflegt der liebe' may derive from the sense of 'sticks' (cf. Goth. *beidan* in no. 14, and Skr. *úṣas* 'amator' in no. 32), cf. also *ἐ-ρημ-ος* 'solus' (?), a definition in curious accord with Germ. *einsiedler* (cf. SĒ(Y)D- in no. 15) 'eremite, hermit'.

51) *vr̥ṇātē/vr̥ṇóti* 'chooses': no *n*-forms of immediately related meaning. In the oldest language only middle forms are used, and a development from 'hit, seize, grasp' may be suspected, as in *αἰπεῖσθαι* 'to choose': *αἰπεῖν* 'to seize, strike, capture' (see P. above), cf. also *ὀρέγεσθαι* 'to grasp—, reach—, strike at; desire'.

I suppose *vellus* 'skin' (from *\*velnos*) to have had the ordinary development from a verb meaning 'caedere', cf. *δέρμα* (no. 1), Skr. *cárma*, *śárma* 'cover' (: *śatākā* 'scindula', base *ĀER-* / *ĀEL-* in no. 7). The base WEL- 'to cover' (no. 18) is identical (see the semantic discussion in no. 19), and the primitive meaning was 'to split > < splice'. The special sense 'to choose, wish' may have developed as in Eng. *picks* 'chooses'.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Particularly appropriate for a discussion of the ideas in the verbs of emotion is the following citation from Meringer, l. c. p. 180: ich denke, wir müssen es aufgeben mit bedeutungsansätzen wie 'sich gefallen' 'sich irgendwo freuen' uz rechnen.

<sup>2</sup> The history of *picks* is semantically most instructive, if Skeat is right in referring it to the Romance "root" *pic*, *picc-*, set down by Körtling, l. c., no. 6119. The Latin *picus* 'wood pecker', (*pica* 'magpie') gave a name to a

## Cognates of WEL-:

<i>volnus</i> <sup>1</sup> 'wound'	Skr. <i>vrap̄as</i>	<i>vellit</i> 'picks, <sup>2</sup> plucks, tears'
<i>vellus</i> 'skin'		

## Base WEL-K̄-.

Skr. <i>val̄kas</i> 'twig'	Av. <i>var̄so</i>	O. B. <i>vlasū</i> 'hair'
<i>vulsit</i> (pf. to <i>vellit</i> ) <sup>3</sup>	<i>Volcanus</i> 'smith'	

## Base WEL-G-.

Skr. <i>vārgas</i> 'schar'	Lat. <i>volgus</i> 'crowd'
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## Base WĒ(Y)-L- (see no. 36).

<i>villus</i> 'vellus' <sup>4</sup>	(F) <i>εἰλίνει</i> 'covers, wraps'
<i>εἰλη</i> / <i>ἰλη</i> 'schar'	<i>volvit</i> 'wraps'
<i>Ἡλεῖ</i> 'covers'	<i>vēlat</i> (or from * <i>ves-lat</i> ?) 'covers'
<i>villa</i> 'cover, shed' (?)	<i>vēlox</i> 'swift' <sup>5</sup>
<i>vallum</i> 'stockade'	<i>vallus</i> 'stake, picket'
(?) <i>vēles</i> 'sharpshooter, picket'	<i>vilis</i> 'piccolo (Körting, l. c. 6), σμικρός' (no. 12)

52) *hṛṣṭé* 'is angry': no *n*-forms, and no cognates cited by Uhlenbeck.

I would connect with *χόλος* 'gall', *χολᾶ*, *χολούται* 'is angry',<sup>6</sup> noting the *n*-flexion of Lat. *fel*, gen. *fellis* for \**felnis*.<sup>7</sup>

cutting and digging tool, whence a verb root 'to cut, dig', etc.; in Spanish and Portuguese this took the form *picar* "gleichsam festpicken, anmachen"—generalized = 'to splice'.—We see a somewhat similar idea, developed from a different point of departure, in Fr. *fouiller* (from *fodicular* 'to dig') which means 'to search', and in Ital. *frucare* (see no. 29) 'to search' (= 'hunt for').—That *picus* and *pica* were onomatopoetic words of Italian origin is possible, certainly, though nothing hinders their being derivatives of a root PĒ(Y)- 'to cut, strike', mutating with PŌ(W)- (nos. 25, 41).

<sup>1</sup> With syncope, cf. *ὠλένη* / *ὠλλός* 'elbow'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *vellicat* 'pinches, nips'. The specialized meaning of *vellit* is comparable with that of *carpit* (see no. 11).

<sup>3</sup> The exhibition of a *k̄* in the perfect is on a line with the Greek aor.-pf. sign -κ-. To *vulsit*, *vulsus* (ptc.) was fashioned on the analogy of *rosi* / *rosus*, *rasi* / *rasus*, etc. The normal participial formation is exhibited by *vultus* 'προ-τομῆ';

cf. *vultur* 'seizer' (= ac-cipiter) *vulva* 'scheide'.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *ἄγγελος*, Skr. *dāṅgiras-* for a like variation between -o- and -es- stems.

<sup>5</sup> *vēlox* 'swift': *vellit* 'tears away' :: *rapidus* 'swift': *rapit* 'tears off'; cf. *volat* 'speeds' with Eng. 'tears along', and note *ὀξύς* 'acutus, celer'.

<sup>6</sup> It is customary to derive the sense 'gall' from 'yellow', but I would reverse this process, cf. color names like 'buff', 'pink' and 'violet'.

<sup>7</sup> The *f-* of *fel* is for G<sup>WH</sup>, the *χ* of *χόλος* for G<sup>H</sup>—: this variation is attested also by O. B. *žlūči* / *zlūči* 'gall' (Miklosich, l. c., s. vv. *želči*, *želči*). Uhlenbeck (s. v. *hδris*) gives GH for G<sup>WH</sup>, but Lat. *f-* would seem to prove that G<sup>WH</sup> is the right form, unless all three gutturals be admitted.



What was the notion the primitive man had of 'gall' and the 'gall-bladder? That far from primitive man, Sophocles, in the archaic language of augury, used the plural *χολαί* for 'gall-bladder', in this context (Antig. 1010) *μετάρσιοι χολαὶ διεσπείροντο*, interpreted to mean "the sacrificer could no longer trace the divided gall-ducts." Euripides also attests the importance in augury of the forking of the gall-ducts in Elec. 827-8, "The *σπλάγχνα* had no lobe, and the gates (*πύλαι*) and receptacles (*δοχαί*) of the gall hardby showed to the augur unpropitious entrances." It would seem possible, then, to fix upon the forking of the gall-duct as the characteristic to which its name was due.<sup>1</sup> But the gall-bladder itself lies in a 'fissure' (*fossa, furche*) of the liver, which it divides into right and quadrate lobes. It seems inadmissible to separate *χόλος* from *χολάδες* 'guts, Gedärme', for we may suppose *χολάδες*, like the two definitions cited for it, to have meant etymologically 'channels', or 'fissures'. Accordingly, *χόλος* may be suspected of belonging with *χηλή* (with *ā* in the dialects, from secondarily lengthened *ǵ*) 'cleft, a hoof', with *χείλος/χέλλος* 'lip' (from *\*χελνός* or *\*χελφός*, cf. *χελύνη* 'lip') and with Skr. *halā-* 'plough' (? cf. Armen. *dzlem* 'furrow, plough'). The base would be *GHĒ(Y)-L-* 'to split', intrans. 'to gape', derived from *GHĒ(Y)-*, in Lat. *hi-scil*, Gr. *χάσκει*. To this base belongs Lat. *hilum* 'straw' (?) (splinter, particle?), *χίλος* 'fodder, heu' (: *hauen*), and *hillae* (from *\*hilnae*) 'smaller intestines', cf. *χολάδες*; *hi-ulcus* 'gaping, cracking' is of morphological interest, having the look of being a compound of *hi-* and *ulco-* 'a sore, split'. More on the base *GHĒ(Y)* in no. 126.

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<sup>1</sup> The 'forking' of the gall-duct and the plural use of *χολαί*, let us surmise that Lat. *bilis* 'gall-bladder' is for *\*dwi-* + *\*helis* (*hel-* with *GH-*) 'having two ducts'.